

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06  
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 CU-02 IO-13 OMB-01 DHA-02 /083 W  
-----111844Z 128091 /44

R 111445Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9856  
INFO AMCONSUL ZAGREB

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 1505

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR CSCE SHUM YO US  
SUBJ: CSCE CONSULTATIONS: U.S.-YUGOSLAVIA

REF: (A) BELGRADE 1399 (NOTAL), (B) BELGRADE 1313 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: VISIT TO WASHINGTON MARCH 15-16 BY AMBASSADOR PESIC WILL PRESENT DEPARTMENT GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE U.S. INTEREST IN ALL BASKETS OF FINAL ACT, AS WELL AS U.S. DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE SPEAKING OUT ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN A CONSTRUCTIVE FASHION. WE EXPECT PESIC WILL ARGUE THAT U.S. SHOULD MUTE HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERN, OR FRAME IN NON-CONTENTIOUS MANNER.  
END SUMMARY.

2. DURING WASHINGTON TALKS NEXT WEEK PESIC WILL HAVE THE EXPERIENCE OF MORE THAN 20 BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS, INCLUDING WITH ALL THE MAJOR CSCE PARTICIPANTS. IN OUR OWN MEETINGS WITH PESIC AND FROM DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES, WE FIND THUS FAR THAT THE YUGOSLAVS HAVE BEEN MORE THAN WILLING TO LISTEN AND ABSORB SUGGESTIONS FROM OTHER PARTIES RATHER THAN PUSH AND PROMOTE THEIR OWN VIEWS. THEY ARE STILL TRYING TO MELD THE VARYING OPINIONS INTO A CONSENSUALLY ACCEPTABLE  
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FRAMEWORK FOR USE AT THE BELGRADE MEETING. NEVERTHELESS PESIC WILL BE PREPARED TO INJECT YUGOSLAV THOUGHTS, ON WHICH HE HAS A FIRM GROUNDING.

3. YUGOSLAV VIEWS ON MOST CSCE ISSUES HAVE BEEN FAIRLY CONSISTENT OVER THE CONSULTATIVE PERIOD AND HAVE BEEN REPORTED TO THE DEPARTMENT. HOWEVER, THE MUSHROOMING

OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS ASPECT AND INCREASED PUBLIC ATTENTION GIVEN TO BASKET III ISSUES HAVE ADDED A NEW DIMENSION TO THE YUGOSLAV PREPARATIONS. WE BELIEVE THEY PERCEIVE THIS PHENOMENON AS A POSSIBLE IMPEDIMENT TO THE CONCLUSION OF A SUCCESSFUL CSCE FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE IN BELGRADE.

4. AS WE POINTED OUT IN OUR REVIEW OF THE YUGOSLAV CSCE IMPLEMENTATION RECORD (SEE BELGRADE 1208), THE YUGOSLAV RECORD IN BASKET III, EVEN IN HUMAN CONTACTS, IS BASICALLY GOOD ALTHOUGH NOT UNBLEMISHED BY ANY MEANS. IN CULTURE THEY TRAVEL AFAR PROMOTING EXCHANGES, AND DESPITE THEIR CONTROLS ON IMPORTED AND CIRCULATED INFORMATION THEY COMPARE FAVORABLY TO THE SOVIETS/EES IN DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION.

5. IN EXPRESSING CONCERN THAT THE WEST IS STRESSING BASKET III TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE REMAINDER OF THE FINAL ACT, YUGOSLAVS MAINTAIN THAT EVEN WITHIN BASKET III WESTERN EMPHASIS IS SELECTIVE. THEY NOTE THAT WHILE CONCERN IS RAISED ABOUT HUMAN CONTACTS, CULTURE AND INFORMATION SUFFER. HERE THEY MENTION THE CANARDS ABOUT UNEVEN NUMERICAL COMPARISONS BETWEEN EASTERN LITERATURE AND FILMS AVAILABLE IN THE WEST AND VICE VERSA, AS WELL AS POINT OUT THAT COUNTRIES LIKE THE U.S. SEEM DISINTERESTED IN PROMOTING EXCHANGES OF CULTURAL MANIFESTATIONS.

6. YUGOSLAVIA'S MAIN WEAKNESS IS ITS PERFORMANCE,  
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OR LACK THEREOF, IN IMPLEMENTING PRINCIPLE VII ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. THEY IMPLICITLY RECOGNIZE THIS AND THEY ARE EXTREMELY SENSITIVE WHEN CRITICIZED FROM ABROAD. IN A FASHION PARALLEL TO THAT OF THE SOVIETS, CZECHS AND OTHERS IN THIS AREA, THE YUGOSLAVS MAINTAIN SUCH CRITICISM VIOLATES THEIR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND CONSTITUTES INTERFERENCE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. IN PHRASING SIMILAR TO THAT OF SOVIET AMBASSADOR LUNKOV WITH UK MINISTER OF STATE GORONWY-ROBERTS (USNATO 1106, PARA 2) YUGOSLAV LABOR OFFICIAL TOLD GERMAN DIPLOMAT THAT SUCH "INTERFERENCE" OFTEN LEADS TO WAR. (HOWEVER, CSCE COUNSELOR PLESE TOLD EMBOFF

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 TRSE-00 CU-02 IO-13 OMB-01 DHA-02 /083 W

-----120742Z 008736 /14

R 111445Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9857

INFO AMCONSUL ZAGREB

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 1505

THAT PESIC WAS "SURPRISED" TO SEE "WESTERN" WIRE  
SERVICES REPORT PESIC'S COMMENTS DURING FEBRUARY 14  
PARIS PRESS CONFERENCE AS AKIN TO THOSE OF SOVIETS.)

7. WHEN THE CHARTER 77 ISSUE BROKE, YUGOSLAV MEDIA  
CARRIED GENERALLY STRAIGHT REPORTS FROM PRAGUE. THERE  
WAS LITTLE COMMENTARY BUT THE PRESS ACCOUNTS CONTAINED  
IMPLIED CRITICISM OF THE GOC ACTIONS. THE YUGOSLAVS  
ALSO ENJOYED PUBLISHING CRITICISMS BY WESTERN CPS OF  
THE HUSAK REGIME'S REACTION TO CHARTER 77 DEVELOPMENTS.  
THIS REACTION TO THE CZECH EVENTS, HOWEVER, SHOULD BE  
VIEWED IN LIGHT OF THE DEGREE OF ENMITY BETWEEN CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
AND YUGOSLAVIA DATING FROM THE GOY'S VOCAL CRITICISM  
OF THE SOVIET INVASION IN 1968. IT CONTINUES (AT A  
LOWER LEVEL) TODAY BECAUSE THE YUGOSLAVS SEE THE CZECHS  
AS ANOTHER IDEOLOGICAL MOUTHPIECE FOR THE SOVIETS.  
IN CONTRAST, THE GIEREK REGIME'S CRACKDOWN ON THE  
WORKERS AND THE GDR'S TREATMENT OF WOLF BIERMANN RECEIVED  
CONSIDERABLY LESS YUGOSLAV PRESS ATTENTION. IN ADDITION,  
THE YUGOSLAVS CONTINUE TO OVERLOOK HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS  
IN UGANDA, ETHIOPIA AND OTHER NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES  
WITH WHOM THEIR RELATIONS ARE GOOD AND CONCENTRATE  
INSTEAD ON VIOLATIONS OR ALLEGED VIOLATIONS IN SUCH  
PLACES AS CHILE, SUOUTH AFRICA, RHODESIA AND ISRAEL.

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8. WHEN THE PETITION TO THE YUGOSLAV CONSTITUTIONAL  
COURT ON PASSPORTS WAS PICKED UP BY THE WESTERN PRESS,  
AFTER WHICH MILOVAN DJILAS GAVE SEVERAL INTERVIEWS TO  
AMERICAN REPORTERS, YUGOSLAV PRESS TREATMENT OF EVENTS  
EVEN IN CZECHOSLOVKIA BECAME MUTED. THE GOY OFFICIAL

REACTION TO THE PUBLICITY GIVEN THE PETITION AND DJILAS HAS BEEN THAT "REACTIONARY CIRCLES IN THE WEST" ARE "ATTEMPTING TO DRAG YUGOSLAVIA INTO A BLOC CONFRONTATION" IN THIS PERIOD BEFORE BELGRADE 77. YUGOSLAVS ASK RHETORICALLY WHY THE WEST IS INTERESTED MORE IN A HANDFUL OF INDIVIDUALS THAN IN THE LARGER ISSUES OF EUROPEAN SECURITY, DISARMAMENT, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL COOPERATION. AND THEY POINT OUT THAT THE WEST HAS ITS OWN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATORS IN, FOR EXAMPLE, BRITAIN TORTURING IRA PRISONERS, WEST GERMAN TREATMENT OF EXTREME LEFTISTS, INCIPENT RACISM, AND UNEMPLOYMENT. COLORED LEITHER BY A NEED TO JUSTIFY AND RATIONALIZE THEIR OWN DEGREE OF CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AS WELL AS BY A REAL BELIEF IN THEIR POLITICAL SYSTEM, MANY YUGOSLAVS HAVE MAINTAINED THAT THE WEST IS MORE INTERESTED IN A "BOURGEOEIS" CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY FOR THE INDIVIDUAL AS OPPOSED TO THE SOCIALIST CONCERN FOR DEMOCRACY FOR THE SOCIETY AND FOR THE WORKING MAN.

9. THE AFOREMENTIONED IS SOME OFTHE AMMUNITION PESIC WILL BE ARMED WITH. AS NOTED IN REF A, THE YUGOSLAVS MAY HAVE REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT THE U.S. AND OTHERS ARE GOING TO MAKE HUMAN RIGHTS A REAL ISSUE AT BELGRADE. THEREFORE THE GOY MAY BE SEEKING METHODS OF APPROACHING THE ISSUE WITHOUT HAVING IT RESULT IN EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION AND PERHAPS A STALEMATE.

10. THROUGH OUR CONTACTS WITH HIM WE HAVE GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT PESIC HIMSELF IS MORE THAN ABLE TO REPRESENT YUGOSLAVIA IN HANDLING ALL ASPECTS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PROBLEM. HE IS A MONTENEGRIN, BORN IN 1921. BEFORE JOINING GSFA IN 1953, HE HAD SERVED WITH THE PARTISANS, PARTICIPATED IN COMMUNIST YOUTH ACTIVITIES, AND SPENT TIME AS A DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF "BORBA". HIS FOREIGN ASSIGNMENTS HAVE BEEN IN PARIS AND IN MOSCOW (TWICE) WHERE MOST RECENTLY HE WAS AMBASSADOR (1971-1975). FROM 1969-71 HE WAS UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HE SPEAKS FLUENT FRENCH AND RUSSIAN. HE UNDERSTANDS ENGLISH BUT PREFERS NOT TO USE IT. BIG AND GRUFF IN APPEARANCE, HE IS NEVERTHELESS CHARMING, INTELLIGENT, INFLUENTIAL AND WELL-INFORMED.

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Reference:** 77 BELGRADE 1399, 77 BELGRADE 1313  
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**TAGS:** PFOR, SHUM, YO, US, CSCE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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